

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

STATEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

1975

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Statement by the Italian Ambassador, Debate on the Palestine question, 30 th General Assembly of the United Nations	3 December 1975

The European Council issued other statements. See the conclusions of the Dublin (10-11 March 1975), Brussels (16-17 July 1975) and Rome (1-2 December 1975) meetings.

Citation “Bull EC” is the Bulletin of the European Communities.

13. Statement by the Foreign Ministers on the Situation in Cyprus (Dublin, 13 February 1975)

The nine ministers (the Danish Minister being represented by the Secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs) meeting in Dublin in the context of political co-operation, examined recent developments in Cyprus. Greece, Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus with the European Community and the particular interest shown by the nine Member States in the evolution of the situation in Cyprus since July 1974. Recalling their previous declaration on this subject and in particular, the importance which they attach to the independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus, and recalling also the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, they are making contact through the intermediary of the President, with the governments of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to convey to them:

- that they continue to regard as highly desirable the search, by way of consultation between the two Communities in Cyprus, for a negotiated solution which would be both durable and equitable;
- that to facilitate the realization of this objective, the Nine are ready to hold discussions with representatives of all the interested parties.

Source: European Political Co-operation, Third Edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

15. Press Statement by Mr. G. FitzGerald,
Foreign Minister of the Irish Republic,
on the CSCE (Dublin, 25 May 1975)

The ministers discussed the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. They reaffirmed the readiness of the Nine to conclude the negotiations in Geneva as soon as possible but noted that some important questions remained to be settled. Until these issues have been resolved it cannot be said that balanced and satisfactory results have been achieved on all the questions on the agenda.

The ministers agreed that only if the progress of the negotiations shows that the other participants in the Conference share this view and respond to the readiness and the initiatives of the Nine, will it be possible to complete the negotiations in Geneva within the next few weeks.

Source: European Political Co-operation, Third Edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

19. Statement by Signor A. Moro, Prime Minister of the Italian Republic, during the third stage of CSCE
(Helsinki, 30 July 1975, excerpt)

It is within this framework of a dynamic perspective and an enrichment of the very fabric of political and human relations that, as Chairman of the Council of the European Communities, I would like to recall the declaration made in Helsinki on 3 July, 1973 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark on behalf of the European Communities. Mr. Andersen drew the attention of his colleagues to the fact that, according to the subjects, the Communities could be involved, in conformity with their competences and internal procedures, in the work of the Conference and that the implementation of the results of the negotiations on these subjects would depend on the agreement of the Communities. The latter have considered the conclusions of the Conference on these matters and I have the honour to inform you that these have been accepted.

Consequently, I shall sign the Final Act of the Conference in my dual capacity: as representative of Italy and as President in office of the Council of the Communities respectively.

Third countries will have the assurance therefore that the conclusions of this Conference will be applied by the Communities in all matters which are within their competence, or which may come within their competence in future.

As regards these matters, the expression "Participating States", mentioned in the Final Act, is to be considered therefore as applicable also to the European Communities.

As for the implementation of the conclusions of the Conference, the points of view of the Communities will be

expressed in accordance with their internal rules each time a matter within their competence is involved.

I would like to recall that in terms of economic and social development, and also with a view to greater and improved international economic relations, the European Communities have already made a significant contribution to the objectives of this Conference. The Member States of the European Communities, recalling the evolving nature of their institutions, consider that the results of the Conference will not provide an hindrance to the process of European integration which they intend freely to pursue. This process, which is a factor of peace and security, constitutes a positive contribution to the development of co-operation in Europe. The Member States intend to continue together to co-operate with all participating countries in order to achieve this objective.

The cohesion of the nine countries of the European Communities has proved useful in the work of the Conference and this is indeed a constructive contribution in trying to find points of common agreement with the participating States. In fact it is an testimony to the open spirit with which these countries intend to continue their multilateral dialogue for the purpose of détente, peace and co-operation.

20. Statement by the Nine Governments on Namibia Day (26 August 1975)

The nine countries comprising the European Communities believe that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia as soon as possible and that the inhabitants of Namibia should be given the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination by expressing their views in a full democratic process under the supervision of the United Nations on the political and constitutional future of the territory as a whole. This process should be embarked upon without further delay. They furthermore consider that all political groups should be permitted to have full freedom to carry out peaceful political activities throughout the territory in the course of the process of self-determination. They have taken account of the South African Government's recently expressed views on the questions of self-determination, independence and territorial integrity but consider that further clarification is required. To this effect they believe that contacts between the South African Government and this world organization concerning Namibia's future would be of assistance to the people of Namibia in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

Political cooperation

Ministerial meeting

2501. The 20th meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, under political cooperation, took place in Venice on 11 and 12 September, chaired by Mr *Rumor*, Italy's Foreign Minister. The Commission was represented by President *Ortoli* and Vice-President, Sir Christopher *Soames*. The officiating Chairman made the following comments on the proceedings:

Middle East: 'The Middle East situation was the subject of discussions prompted by the lively interest of the Nine in this area, which is of the utmost importance to Europe and to the whole world. The Nine welcome as an encouraging result the conclusion of a second interim agreement between Egypt and Israel. The Ministers look upon the agreement as an important contribution to *détente* and towards the eventual negotiation of a peaceful, just and lasting settlement. The efforts of Egypt, Israel and the United States in that direction were warmly appreciated by the nine Ministers. They welcomed the suggestion that efforts may shortly be made to achieve progress between Israel and Syria. The Nine reiterate their conviction that the negotiations should be kept going, in order that substantial new progress may be made towards a peaceful general solution, in the context of the Geneva conference'.

Portugal: 'The Ministers discussed the most recent developments of the political situation in Portugal. They are heartened by the efforts made by the forces of democracy in that country to put into action the will of the vast majority of the people as expressed in free elections. The Ministers hope that further developments will make it possible to give effect to the Council's decisions on the European Community's contribution towards improving Portugal's economic position'.

Cyprus: 'The Foreign Ministers of the Nine expressed their keen regret that for want of practical proposals, the inter-Community discussions initially scheduled for 8 and 9 September in New York have been deferred.

They hoped that these inter-Community talks sponsored by the United Nations' Secretary-General would be resumed as early as possible, and on this point, once again expressed the hope that the parties concerned would be able to get down to a constructive and practical appraisal of the basic problems in the Cyprus question, and that they would advance towards a solution through mutual and balanced concessions.

With this goal in mind, the Nine intend to follow up their friendly approach to the parties concerned, on the basis of the links which, *inter alia*, underly the relations of association between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey on one side and the European Community on the other.

The Ministers reiterated their hopes that no unilateral move would compromise the relaxed atmosphere needed for negotiations to keep moving forward'.

Euro-Arab dialogue: 'As regards the Euro-Arab dialogue, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine took note of the Chairman's report on the second meeting between European and Arab experts in Rome on 22 to 24 July. They were pleased to find that progress was made at the meeting towards broad and lasting cooperation between European and Arab countries.

They reaffirmed the value they set on this dialogue, the political importance they attach to it and their determination to develop and intensify it'.

Financial aid to Egypt: 'The Nine are aware of the urgent need to facilitate economic recovery in the Middle East and will go on playing their part in the efforts to this end, in particular towards the reconstruction and development of Egypt'.

Other matters on the agenda of the Ministers' meeting were the results of the CSCE, action to be taken following the Conference and the Community's presence at the United Nations. As regards the UN, the Ministers congratulated Mr *Thorn*, President of the Luxembourg Government and the Grand Duchy's Foreign Minister, who will shortly assume the Presidency of the General Assembly, for its thirtieth session, and expressed the Community's resolve to attend the United Nations as a political unit. Besides showing consistency in matters of specific competence, the Community must present its own attitude to political questions of a general nature. It was agreed that Mr *Rumor*, the Chairman-in-Office, would make a statement on behalf of the Community before the General Assembly.

21. Speech by Signor M. Rumor, Foreign Minister of the Italian Republic, at the Thirtieth General Assembly of the United Nations (New York, 23 September 1975, excerpt)

I am happy to take the floor at this regular session, as I already had the opportunity of doing at the Seventh Special Session, to begin with a statement on behalf of the nine Foreign Ministers of the Community.

On 17 July, at the end of a meeting of the European Council, the Heads of Government of the nine Community countries made a statement on the United Nations, which was then presented to the Secretary-General and distributed to the member countries of the United Nations.

The statement expresses the common view of the Nine on the role which the United Nations are called upon to play, and their own common approach to the problems which the United Nations must help to solve.

Regarding the role of the United Nations, the Community countries expressed their conviction that while sensitive to the tensions which still divide the world, the United Nations remains the vital instrument of contact, negotiation and cooperation, since the growing interdependence of countries and peoples is multiplying the problems requiring solutions at world level. Consequently, the Community countries intend to take an active and constructive part in the efforts to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, in which the Nine reaffirm their confidence.

I believe it will be generally acknowledged that, during the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly which has just closed, the countries of the European Community have proved their resolve to make together a

positive contribution towards establishing a fairer and more balanced international economic order. We are happy with the satisfactory results of the Seventh Special Session and hope, as a Community, to share in the action to follow.

Within the United Nations, the Nine intend to work for conciliation and dialogue, whose prerequisites are the principle of universality, application of the provisions of the Charter and respect for the rights and responsibilities of Member States.

Then with regard to the problems faced by the United Nations, the Nine are working, primarily, to preserve peace and for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflict.

As an example, I would mention the active support which the Nine, drawing upon the special ties of association between the Community and the three countries concerned, is now throwing behind the unceasing and dogged efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to solve the Cyprus crisis, in accordance with his mandate from Resolution 3212 (XXIX) of the 29th General Assembly and from Resolution 367 (1975) of the Security Council, for whose adoption the Nine have actively worked.

Similarly, as regards the Middle East, the Nine reaffirm their keen and constant interest in intensifying the efforts to secure an overall peaceful, equitable and lasting settlement, in accordance with Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council, and the principles of their Declaration of 6 November 1973.

It is the concept of justice and the resolve to champion the basic freedoms and human rights, as the Nine expressed them in their Declaration, which inspires the commitment whereby the Community Governments will help to terminate, wherever they may arise, the practices of apart-

heid and all forms of racial, political and religious discrimination.

The principles of independence and equality for all peoples underly the action of the Nine to make a solid contribution to the permanent solution of the problem of decolonization; this contribution has not failed the new members of the United Nations, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tomé et Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique, whom we welcome amongst us today, in their accession to independence, and we are constantly renewing that contribution in affirming the rights of the peoples of Namibia and Rhodesia.

The Nine, who during the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, have acted in close liaison with the other Western countries, in particular the United States and Canada, are happy that the Conference succeeded in defining principles of conduct to strengthen security and develop cooperation, trade and contacts between all the peoples of Europe. They are convinced that the results of the Conference make an ample contribution to the process of détente, beyond Europe, in the whole world.

In their statement on the United Nations, the Nine wished to see firm progress made towards a fairer and more balanced structure of international economic relations.

Lastly, in the spirit of interregional collaboration desired by the United Nations, the Euro-Arab dialogue is unfolding, which would restructure, in a broader and more comprehensive setting, the links between mankind, and the ties of cooperation between the Community and the Arab League countries. The dialogue has started out successfully with the meetings between two delegations of experts which took place in Cairo and Rome a short time ago.

The Nine wish to maintain a constructive dialogue and develop as many contacts as possible with the other members of the United Nations, in a spirit of mutual understanding, to align and, if possible, harmonize their respective positions.

22. Statement by the Foreign Ministers on the Situation in Spain (Luxembourg, 6 October 1975)

The Ministers recall that the rights of man constitute the common heritage of the peoples of Europe. The Ministers therefore reiterated their condemnation of the recent executions, carried out after proceedings violating the principles of the rule of Law and in particular the rights of the defence.

They deeply regretted that the approaches made on humanitarian grounds, both individually and collectively, met with no response.

It is their most ardent wish that Spain, whose peoples are linked with the peoples of the Community by so many ties, may be spared a process of escalating violence.

It is the Ministers' desire that a democratic Spain might take its place in the assembly of European nations.

Source: European Political Co-operation, third edition, Press and Information Office, Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, 1978.

Annual report on political cooperation

Political cooperation

On 15 October in the European Parliament, Mr Mariano Rumor, Chairman of the Foreign Ministers' Conference, gave the following report on political cooperation:

'Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad the six-month Italian term of office of the Presidency has again given me the opportunity to speak to the European Parliament, this time in the guise of President of the Foreign Ministers' Conference on Political Cooperation of the nine Member States. I feel that these regular contacts between those who bear government responsibility and the Members of the European Parliament are essential for the very purpose of the construction of Europe, which is the common objective—granted the distinction between their respective roles—of the joint efforts of the governments and of the European political forces represented in Parliament.

Since the last report on 16 October 1974 by the then President-in-Office, Mr Sauvagnargues, I feel that political cooperation has progressed favourably and encourages us to continue intensifying our commitment. Not only has activity increased in this period of time, but the very forms of political cooperation have evolved and become stronger. This is due to the will to promote such cooperation in spite of a difficult economic situation—in fact, largely for the very purpose of facing up to and helping to overcome the latter.

Apart from the normal ministerial meetings—four in all—this period has seen a summit meeting of Heads of Government and their Foreign Ministers on 9 and 10 December 1974 in Paris, and two European Councils—the first in Dublin in March, under the Irish President-in-Office, and the second in Brussels on 16 and 17 July, under the Italian President-in-Office.

The Paris summit produced an important new move to promote the continuity and consistency of the activities of the Nine at the highest level—the setting up of 'European Councils',

which was decided upon at that meeting. The regular meetings of Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers, which will normally be held three times a year and will replace the former summit meetings, seem to us to be a positive step, particularly since this has established an element of relationship and a link between the activities for which the Community is responsible and those of political cooperation. Thus in the European Council, the responsible persons in the Member States now have a suitable forum in which to make a joint study of the economic and political problems which may arise at a given moment and lay down the broad outlines of a possible common stance by Member Countries on the subject.

The effectiveness of this procedure was shown last March, when the European Council managed to find a satisfactory solution to the 'British renegotiation', and again in July, four months later, when—apart from the major exchange of ideas on Community problems, with particular reference to energy and raw materials—it produced important decisions in the field of political cooperation. For instance: the review of relations between the Nine and Portugal, with a view to the Community's providing economic aid for that country; the joint declaration on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and another joint declaration on the United Nations Organization.

From the institutional point of view, this July 'European Council' reviewed and improved some major institutional decisions on Community activities taken by the Paris summit. Although these decisions do not, strictly speaking, belong in this report, I think it is as well to draw attention to them because of their political significance.

As you know, the first decision related to universal and direct elections to this Parliament, and included a request to the Council of the Communities to draw up a report on the subject to be submitted to the 'European Council' at the end

of this year. This decision reflects the explicit and consistent intention to strengthen the role of Parliament within the general framework of the construction of Europe.

The second decision taken at the European Council on 16 and 17 July concerns a start to work on setting up a 'passport union', while the third decision is aimed at a more detailed study of the subject of granting special rights to the citizens of the Nine, as members of the Community.

Within the general framework of the institutional obligations of the Nine a special place is taken by the mission entrusted by the Paris summit meeting to the Prime Minister of Belgium, Mr Tindemans. The report which he has undertaken to draw up will consist of a general draft describing the various aspects of the process which will lead us towards the achievement of European Union.

The governments of the Nine will be informed of Mr Tindemans' progress in the Community capitals—in a task which calls for equal portions of realism and imagination—at the European Council to be held on 1 and 2 December in Rome.

One hurdle in the way of European political cooperation was taken successfully when the complicated and difficult negotiations at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe came to a conclusion with the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki.

Not only did the close cooperation between the Nine in Geneva make it possible to arrive at and uphold joint attitudes during the negotiations—within the wider framework of Western solidarity—but it also gave the other nations represented there a reference point and an impetus to hold wider and more constructive talks which were sustained by a constant ability on the part of the Nine to make proposals on all the subjects discussed. This close cooperation between the Member States was given formal expression in the signature which the President-in-Office of the Council of the European Com-

munities put to the Final Act of the Conference in Helsinki, in his double function—national and European.

Our assessment of the value of this document is given in the 'Declaration' of the European Council of 17 July, to which I referred before. In this declaration, the nine Heads of State or Government affirm jointly that the text of the Final Act represents a step towards detente, the real importance of which must be judged by the extent to which each contracting State effectively implements all the principles laid down and all the measures agreed upon.

Now that we have reached the stage of implementing the Final Act, we can repeat our firm belief that political cooperation between the Nine remains an essential factor in putting relations in Europe on a positive course—a course increasingly in line with those principles of genuine detente which must reach into the private lives of the citizens of all parts of Europe. We therefore intend to implement the principles and measures agreed upon by the Conference, with particular reference to those which we consider specially important, concerning contacts, education, information and the vast field of culture. In our view, such measures will open up the way for a peaceful development which will ensure that the spiritual links between all Europeans are genuinely strengthened.

If, as we fervently hope, all the other contracting States share our intention to implement these principles and measures, this will create in our continent an atmosphere of trust which should facilitate contacts at all levels and help the peoples to know each other better. At the United Nations as well, the Nine were able to display a strengthened 'European identity'.

In the atmosphere of tension and confrontation pervading the United Nations in 1974, and which threatened to jeopardize the very role of the world organization by progressively undermining the spirit of partnership, the Nine strove to inten-

sify their talks and work out joint moves to combat this situation. It was in view of this experience that they also decided to devote to the current problems of the United Nations a special study within the field of political cooperation. This important step led to the declaration of 17 July, to which I referred before.

In this declaration, the Nine solemnly reaffirmed their own confidence in the role of the United Nations Organization and their resolve to strengthen its operations and its effectiveness as an instrument of world dialogue and cooperation. At a practical level, the move enabled the Nine to exercise a moderating and constructive influence.

This understanding was immediately put into practice during the seventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to the problems of development and economic cooperation, in the course of which the Nine were able to work out a common attitude aimed at giving an impetus to the talks and at finding the solutions most likely to gain the assent of all parties.

At the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly, this joint stance by the Nine was expressed, with the approval of all, in my speech at the start of the actual session, in my capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities.

Furthermore, at the thirtieth ordinary session of the United Nations I was able to express for the first time—again in my speech—the views of the Nine on political matters.

Outside the top-level forums on international cooperation, the political agreement between the Nine has borne fruit in other contexts as well, i.e. in regions geographically near to us.

One important development in this field was the start of the European-Arab dialogue, which came about in the course of this year as a result of the Arab acceptance of the indications emerging from

the ministerial meeting in Dublin last February. At the first meeting on 10 to 14 June in Cairo and the subsequent meeting on 22 to 24 July in Rome, there was an initial thorough study of the opportunities for cooperation between the two sides of the Mediterranean. The importance of this work can be seen from the number of sectors selected for study: these included industrialization, basic infrastructures, agricultural and rural development, monetary cooperation, trade, scientific and technological cooperation, and cultural, social and labour questions. The progress already made in defining the areas of cooperation and the methods of operation is such that the two sides are planning a third meeting of experts to be held in an Arab city this November.

In the view of the Nine, the common political resolve which has brought together Europe and the Arab world to ensure the well-being and progress of their respective peoples should lead to the establishment of a network of relations of interdependence which will make it increasingly easier to implement a policy of development and cooperation in the Middle East.

It was, in fact, the justified concern about the tensions in the Middle East which gave rise to the continuing close consultations by the Nine on Middle East problems over the past year. The aim of these consultations was to start and promote efforts at negotiation. This was also the gist of my statement to the Press after the ministerial meeting on political cooperation held on 11 and 12 September in Venice. Europe, conscious of the limits of its own action, but also of its opportunities, has made a joint undertaking to find and emphasize, in talks with all parties in the crisis, the factors and elements likely to lead the negotiations towards a just and lasting settlement.

Another significant feature in this context is that, after the recent meeting in Venice, the Nine expressed their belief that the new partial agreement between Israel and Egypt signed on 4 September in Geneva—and which came about thanks to the joint and constructive efforts of

Egypt, Israel and the United States—represents an encouraging step towards the establishment of a more relaxed climate. This is why, in the view of the Nine, the agreement could be a major contribution towards the achievement of further progress in the present moves to find a peaceful settlement to be reached through negotiations in suitable forums—among them the Geneva Conference—starting with the efforts to make further progress between Israel and Syria as soon as possible.

The Nine's joint consultations on this subject have always taken account of the basic principles laid down in the United Nations Security Council's resolutions Nos 242 and 338, and hence of the Nine's joint resolution on the Middle East of 6 November 1973.

Still in the Middle East, but with reference to a different problem, I should like to mention the statement by the Nine of 23 September last on the situation in Lebanon. This document expressed Europe's concern at the unfortunate events in that country and the hope that order would soon be restored there. The integrity and independence of Lebanon are essential for the equilibrium of the Middle East and hence for a peaceful solution to its problems.

Another problem which has been the subject of constant and close attention and of moves by the Nine is that of Cyprus, of the full seriousness of which we are well aware, since not only does it involve Associate Members of the Community, but it also affects the balance in the Mediterranean—an area in which the Community has a great interest in ensuring the peaceful development of the peoples of the surrounding countries—as well as international equilibrium and peace.

As regards Cyprus, in Dublin last February the Nine showed their keen interest in a peaceful solution to the problem, their readiness to talk with the parties involved in order to help them to find a solution, and their firm belief that the

problem could be solved only through talks between the two communities—Greek and Turkish—on the island. They have thus consistently supported the activities of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with suitable joint approaches in the capitals of the countries involved. More recently, on the occasion of the final stage of the CSCE in Helsinki, the Community countries renewed their activity and instructed the Italian President-in-Office to take steps to try to induce the parties involved to give up unyielding attitudes and to realize that only simultaneous progress on all the questions at issue could solve the current deadlock.

On the basis of these instructions, which were reaffirmed by the ministerial meeting in Venice on 11 and 12 September and, immediately afterwards, in talks during the General Assembly of the United Nations, the President of the Council has made repeated approaches to the various parties involved, maintaining a link based on the existence of ties and association between the governments of Ankara, Athens and Nicosia and those of the nine countries of the European Community. In this spirit and on the basis of these attitudes, there were also several exchanges of views with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Waldheim.

It is on these lines, and within the framework of practical support for the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that the Nine will continue working to promote constructive talks between the various parties involved, including talks on a satisfactory solution to the problem of the refugees in Cyprus.

The Community's attitude towards Portugal is based on the hope and fervent wish of the Nine that economic progress in that country will finally revive in a political context of democratic stability. For this reason, the European Council of 17 July declared its readiness to grant the request for aid from the Portuguese government, but it has since reaffirmed the Community's fundamental political attitude—while adhering to the

principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries—based on the criterion that support is given only to countries governed by a system of pluralistic democracy.

In view of this and in the light of developments in the Portuguese situation, the Community, at the ministerial meeting of 6 and 7 October in Luxembourg, informed Foreign Minister Melo Antunes that it was making available to the Lisbon government a total of 180 million u.a., comprising loans and interest subsidies.

The question of Spain was the subject of a long debate in this House a short time ago. I shall therefore restrict myself to stating that the fundamental attitudes which I have just mentioned are also the basis of the relations with Spain, and hence of the statements by the nine foreign ministers who met in Luxembourg on 6 and 7 October: that the Nine hoped that Spain could soon occupy a place within the European forum which was politically commensurate with the aspirations underlying the Community links, bearing in mind the many ties binding the Spanish people and the peoples of the Community countries.

The political cooperation between the Nine has also tackled the problems of the African continent. I refer particularly to developments in the process of decolonizing the Portuguese territories and to the wider effects these have had in southern Africa.

Subsequent to the joint statement approved in August of last year on the independence of Guinea Bissau, the common view of the Nine on decolonization was reflected in the joint statements on the independence of Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands and Sao Tome and Principe. In these statements we expressed our common resolve to strengthen cooperation with the new African States.

There was also a study of possible moves to speed up independence for Namibia in a way which ensured the self-determination and territorial integrity of that country.

In this same context, I should like to draw attention to the approaches made in other African countries to try to solve humanitarian problems and protect human rights. Like the other moves, these are aimed at strengthening relations between Africa and Europe by putting them on a basis of mutual understanding and by upholding the highest principles of non-discrimination and equality.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, two general considerations emerge from this statement of activities which I should like to highlight. The first is that the growing European political identity has proved, as was called for by Parliament on 10 July last in its resolution on 'European Union', to be a factor which will help in developing cooperation and security between States and contribute towards maintaining peace and freedom, counteracting any source of conflict and tension. This has been shown with respect to the other countries of Europe. In particular, the widening of political information to include Greece, the continuation of this information to Turkey and the moves on the Cyprus question show that the European Community represents a factor of agreement and rapprochement between Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, with a view to increasing stability and prosperity in this region.

It has been shown with respect to the great transatlantic nations of the West, the United States and Canada, with whom links of sincere friendship and—for those concerned—of loyal alliance have been cultivated, with the result that the West as a whole is better able to negotiate and work together with the other leading figures in current international affairs.

It has been shown with respect to the countries of Eastern Europe. The political agreement between the Nine during the Conference on Security and Cooperation demonstrated that, for the Nine, it is essential for an effective rapprochement between East and West which will give inter-European relations an impetus involving not only the governments but also all the citizens of Europe.

It has been shown, finally, with respect to the developing countries. New opportunities and procedures have emerged for dialogue and cooperation with these countries which will bring even greater rewards in future and which, even now, have helped to avoid risks of tension and to convey the image of a Europe which is not inward-looking but open to fruitful relations with the rest of the world.

The second consideration which I should like to stress is that our activity, such as it has been over the last year, must be—and in fact is—a starting point! We intend to continue our work and, with an eye on 'Union', to ensure that we gradually achieve a single, effective political will. We feel that this is essential if Europe is once again to play its proper historical role in the world, so that it can contribute, in its own specific way, to the progress of all peoples in a spirit of harmony and peace.'

5. Institutional questions— European policy

Political cooperation

Political cooperation

Meetings of Ministers

2501. After an informal meeting in Lucca on 18 and 19 October, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs met for their 21st Conference, under political cooperation, in Rome on 30 October. The meeting was chaired by Mr Mariano Rumor, Italy's Foreign Minister. The Commission was represented by Vice-President, Sir Christopher Soames.

The main items on the agenda were the sequels to the Final Act of the CSCE, the conflict in Cyprus and the situation in the Middle East, especially in the Lebanon. Relations with Spain and Portugal and the situation in Angola were also discussed. Lastly, the Ministers dealt with certain questions arising from the work of the United Nations.

At the end of the meeting, the following statements were issued:

CSCE: As part of the concertation of their activities on the implications of implementing the Final Act of the CSCE, the Ministers got down to a debate on how the situation might develop in this respect.

Against this background, they reaffirmed the importance which they set on the most complete application possible by all the States involved.

As far as they are concerned, the Nine decided to comply with the principles reaffirmed and the action agreed by the CSCE, with due regard to the objectives they have been pursuing from the outset of the negotiations.

On this point, they agreed to pay special attention to the provisions of the Final Act relating to cooperation in the humanitarian fields.

Cyprus: Concerning the issue of Cyprus, the Chair made a summary statement on the diplomatic moves, which at the request of the Nine,

it has continued to make lately in the three capitals.

The factors making up the background of the Cyprus situation were carefully assessed by the nine Ministers also with the impending debate in the UN Assembly in mind. The Ministers agreed that they should continue their diplomatic action.

Meanwhile it was thought to be advisable for the Nine to pursue, in New York as well, the concerted action they have taken hitherto, both bilaterally and through representation from the Chair. It was regarded as vital that the above-mentioned discussion unfold in a calm and levelheaded atmosphere, if a positive contribution is to be made to discerning a fair and lasting solution for the various complex features of the Cyprus problem.

The Nine also considered the possibility of granting further aid to the refugees, while coordinating the aid of the Commission and that of the member countries.

Middle East: The Ministers took a hard look at the situation in the *Lebanon* where the crisis is a matter of grave concern. The dramatic developments in the Lebanon, which has countless historical and material links with Europe, impressed on the Ministers the need to investigate thoroughly every possibility of restoring peace.

The Ministers also considered the prospects for the forthcoming debate in the UN General Assembly on the Palestinian question. They intend to make a positive contribution there.

Angola: The Ministers discussed the situation in Angola, which is due to become independent on 11 November. They expressed regret and concern over the fact that with only a few days to go to the date set for independence, the country is still torn by conflict between the political forces formerly constituting the transitional coalition government.

The Ministers agreed to maintain close liaison with each other as regards further developments.

United Nations: The Ministers appraised the proceedings of the 30th session of the UN General Assembly which are halfway through.

They found that the thorough discussions, in preparation for the session under European political cooperation enabled the delegations of the nine EEC countries to carry out within the United Nations, the role falling to the Community by working in the direction indicated by the statement of the European Council of 17 July.¹

Of the questions which will come up during the second half of the session, the Ministers, with a view to the next vote in full assembly, examined the problem posed by the approval of a resolution against Zionism by the Third Committee (Social), in the context of the item on the Assembly's agenda concerning the decade of action against racism and racial discrimination. Here they categorically restated that they opposed any attempt to identify Zionism with racism, and agreed on the further action they would take.

Euro-Arab dialogue

2502. The Nine continued the technical work by meetings, at European level, of the seven Working Parties set up by the Euro-Arab meeting in Rome in July. The Commission representatives are taking an active part in the work of those groups and chairing two of them (trade and agriculture). Thus the European delegation is making ready for the third Euro-Arab meeting, already planned at the end of the second meeting in July and now confirmed on the Arab side. The Arab League will call the third meeting for the week of 22 to 27 November in Abu Dhabi (United Arab Emirates).

The Arab League also asked for a date to be set for the meeting of the General Commission, the political organ of the Euro-Arab dialogue, which had not met hitherto. The Nine are getting together on this question.

Communication to Parliament

2503. During the sitting of 15 October in the European Parliament, and in accordance with the provisions of the reports on political cooperation, Mr Mariano *Rumor*, Chairman-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers Conference on Political cooperation, presented the annual statement on the progress made in political cooperation.³

¹ Bull. EC 7/8-1975, point 1204.

² Bull. EC 11-1970, Part 1, Chap. 1; Bull. EC 9-1973, Part Chap. 2.

³ The full text is reproduced in Part 3 of this number.

23. Statement by the Italian Ambassador in the Debate on the Palestine Question in the Thirtieth General Assembly of the United Nations (New York, 3 December 1975)

I have the honour to be speaking in my capacity as representative of a country which at present occupies the presidency of the European Community and on behalf of its nine Member States.

This debate is being resumed in this Assembly after three years, at a time when despite the progress recently achieved in the area, the situation still gives rise to concern. It follows the recent debates on the question of Palestine and therefore completes the consideration of the fundamental problems of the Middle East in which our Assembly is engaged this year. Thus it affords us the opportunity of considering all the aspects of this complex problem and all the elements on which the search for an over-all solution depends.

The conclusion of the Disengagement Agreements in January and May 1974, between Egypt and Israel and between Syria and Israel respectively, as well as the Agreement signed on 4 September 1975 in Geneva between Egypt and Israel, appear, at least in the short run, to have helped to reduce tension and prevent the risk of the resumption of hostilities. They represent a significant step in the right direction.

Nonetheless, the situation in the region is still a matter for concern. The Nine appeal to all the parties concerned to give proof of the greatest moderation, in order that the search for peace may lead to further progress.

It would be tragic if the considerable gains obtained after such an arduous struggle should now be compromised.

We should now enter a stage which would lead to progress in the negotiations on problems which are at the very core of the situation prevailing in the Middle East, in order to arrive at an overall settlement.

In addition, the Nine, aware of the dangers inherent in the situation prevailing in the Lebanon, appeal to the interested parties to solve their differences. They reaffirm their profound attachment to the maintenance of the independence, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lebanon. They express the hope that all will bear in mind the need to prevent the extension of the present crisis before it affects the whole of that region.

Because of their continued interest in the Middle East, that important region so close to Europe, the Nine believe that it is up to them to promote every possible effort likely to lead to a settlement.

On numerous occasions they have considered this question and have made known the principles which in their view should underlie that search.

They have done so in particular in their joint declaration of 6 November 1973, as well as on other occasions, and at all times they have emphasized their attachment to resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council which, in their view, continue to provide the fundamental bases for a settlement.

For the Nine, those principles are the following: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly, the necessity of Israel's putting an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the 1967 conflict; thirdly, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region, including Israel, and of their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to the expression of their national identity, as stated by

the Nine on 5 November last during the debate on the question of Palestine.

For the Nine, those principles cannot be dissociated. Without excluding the possibility of achieving new partial measures likely to lead to the creation of a more favourable climate, the Nine consider that an overall negotiating formula is necessary in order to arrive at a settlement that covers all the aspects of the problem, a settlement that alone will lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. This formula could be found in the resumption of the Geneva Conference, or in any other kind of negotiation that would meet with the support of the parties concerned.

The Nine are prepared to offer their contribution in concrete terms to such negotiations. Thus, in order to ensure the security of all the parties concerned, the peace settlement should be accompanied by sound international guarantees. Such a system of guarantees would therefore appear to be an essential element in any peace settlement. It should fall within the framework of the United Nations Security Council. The Nine, aware of the role that they might play in this context, are ready to envisage the possibility of contributing to that system of guarantees.

In the immediate future, the Nine note that the United Nations continues to carry out an important and irreplaceable task for the preservation of stability in the region that will make possible the creation of a climate propitious for the pursuit of efforts for peace and a direct contribution towards such efforts.

We wish to pay a tribute to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as to the countries providing contingents to the Force. The presence of those Forces is still essential, and we fully support them.

In conclusion the Nine note that factors of tension in the region are still disquieting. Aware of the dangers of

stagnation, they feel that peace efforts should be continued without delay. The present debate should encourage all the parties concerned to persevere along the path of negotiation, and this presupposes that account will be taken of the concerns and legitimate interests of each of the parties involved.